

E 458

.1

.56

permalife•  
pH 8.5

E 458

.1

.S6

Copy 1

---

A SKETCH  
OF THE  
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE CAUSES  
WHICH HAVE LED TO THE  
OVERTHROW OF OUR UNION:  
BY A MAN,  
WHO HAS BEEN AN ACTOR IN MANY SCENES, AN  
ATTENTIVE AND INTERESTED OBSERVER, AND PER-  
SONALLY ACQUAINTED WITH ALL THAT HE  
REPRESENTS, FOR MORE THAN FIFTY  
YEARS PAST TO THE PRESENT TIME.

---



A S K E T C H  
OF THE  
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS  
OF THE  
CAUSES WHICH HAVE  
LED TO THE OVERTHROW OF OUR UNION.

---

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 16, 1861.

*My Dear Sister :—*

I have waited a few days since the receipt of your letter, hoping I might get something new about the war to write you.

You say : “ I should think you would prefer to leave Washington until this horrid war is over ; ” and ask, “ where could you go to, to get out of it ? ” You ask : “ Are there encampments near you ? ” You also ask : “ When will the war be at an end ? ”

Alas ! there is no place to avoid the effects of this, as you say, “ horrid war.” Every interest, except that of fraud, corruption and immorality, is prostrated all over this once happy country, and it is producing starvation and dismay in Europe ; and though in the very midst, and heart of it in Washington, we perhaps feel its dire effects as little, or less, than any other place. Yes, there are encampments near to me ; Washington is surrounded by them, and filled, also, with them. They have devastated the whole country around us, and wantonly destroyed everything within their reach. There are exceptions, but, generally, a lawless, drunken, immoral, blasphemously profane, undisciplined, unmanageable mob, with no respect for their officers or any one else. The entire country, with few exceptions, about Washington, has been made one universal waste and ruin ; the fences burnt up, buildings pulled down and burnt, orchards stripped of unripe fruit, crops destroyed, forest and ornamental trees cut down and destroyed, and acres and acres laid waste. No tornado, no scourge from Heaven of fire and storm, could have been more devastating ;—and no one benefitted by it. “ When will it end ? ” Alas ! I can see no hope for its end yet, and no hope for a termination that can in any degree restore, harmonize, or reconstruct our once glorious Union ; that, alas ! is gone forever. For the last thirty years it has been but a Union in name—a Union without harmony ; and has any one ever known discord and strife to produce harmony ?

But when taxation becomes so enormous, abominable and oppressive, to meet the interest on the immense debt for the cost of the war, which the people have not as yet felt, because not called on to pay ; when every interest and business prostrate and ruined ; when there is no foreign demand for the produce of the Great West, and she fully realizes the immense advantages she has heretofore possessed in her entire control and monopoly, of supplying the South, and which she might have possessed forever ; when the manufacturers of the Eastern States have been com-

pelled to stop all their mills and machines, because of no demand for their products; when the commercial ships of the great Northern cities are rotting at their wharves, because they have no cotton to carry to Europe, and no emigrants to bring to this country, and no merchandise to carry to the South; when the millions of poor laborers in manufactories, and others, are starving; when property has no value, as it cannot be converted into money, and those now well off become destitute, and without means to feed the hungry and clothe the naked; when the agrarians and other *isms* come forth and claim a division of property, but take all, and leave the now wealthy houseless and destitute; when all the young men now in the war, who do not get killed or die from disease, return to their homes demoralized, diseased, drunkards, vagabonds, a curse upon the land that reared them; when religious and civil liberty shall be at an end; when the boasted freedom for which our fathers fought, bled, suffered and conquered, shall be extinguished; when man is no longer what his Creator intended him—a man—but a vile, humiliated, subjected thing, to cringe and fawn under the frown or smile of a military tyrant; when the Independence of the Confederate States is acknowledged by France and England, and the Confederate States propose Free Trade with all nations and peoples, who will do the same;—after all these and more the Great West will begin to reflect, and will first see that its great, all-important interest is Agriculture; that it can produce food for man—bread-stuffs and meat sufficient for all the world, too, without fear of competition; that it can receive no benefit from protective tariffs, and unwilling to be taxed for the sole benefit of capital, as a premium to its possessor and security of his power over labor, by drawing the last mite from the starving and destitute to his already overflowing coffers. When the Great West sees that its true interest is in free, unrestricted trade and exchange of commodities with all the world; that it only wants markets for its enormous products, and to get markets it must make exchanges. When the West can see that the substance of its labor has been wasted in paying tribute to the capital of the East; that the war has so prostrated and ruined all and every commercial, agricultural and industrial interest, wasted the capital, means and resources of the people, and thrown what remains of capital into the hands of a few individuals who will hold and own the entire Government debt, which, if the war continues five years, will amount to more than three billions five hundred millions of dollars (\$3,500,000,000), with an annual interest of two hundred and forty-five millions of dollars (\$245,000,000); and this enormous debt held and owned by those who, by fraud, have made their fortunes out of the war; who, too, will hold, own and manage the Government and Legislature of the entire country, abolish the right of suffrage, curtail the freedom and rights of man, restrict the Press, and blot freedom, independence, justice and equality from the history of man, and make whom they please King, Emperor or Dictator. Will the Great West submit to all this? as it must, or separate from it. I think not. So soon as England and France acknowledge the Southern Confederacy (which is not far distant), I think the West will separate—either make Fremont, or some other demagogue, Dictator, and make peace with the South, to have a demand for its produce, and a direct free trade with all Europe, which it can have through the South, the Mississippi River and the different Railroads, and through Canada.

When all that I have specified takes place, then, and not till then, will the war end. And what will the North have gained by all this? Just what they have been longing after for more than thirty years;—yes, this longing commenced with many soon after our glorious Revolution—a Despotism, with hereditary rights and privileges; a Nobility, with an enormous debt, that shall require a taxation to almost take the bread from



the destitute millions—the privileged class holding and owning the debt, as in England, and controlling the entire Legislative body, the State Legislatures being entirely suppressed with the right of suffrage; and a State or Government Religion established, thus ending forever Religious and Civil Liberty, and throwing all mankind back into the darkness and oppression which existed before the dawn of our once glorious Independence, Light and Liberty; for, all the reforms for the benefit of the down-trodden millions, all over the world, have been consequent upon, and influenced by, our example. And now, as we go back to despotism, liberty, freedom and equality will be a bye-word and a mockery, and every despot with his privileged classes, will use it to subjugate more completely and debase the masses below the power of resistance.

Thus the North, by the war, will have gained what it has most desired—a despotism, with nobility, hereditary titles, &c. But they will at the same time overthrow, destroy and lose forever the best Government ever formed by man; they will lose Religious and Civil Liberty; they will lose freedom, independence and equality in man; they will lose the power of self-government by man; they will lose the great commerce which made us the rival of England all over the world; they will lose the immense carrying trade for all the South; they will lose the monopoly in the immense amount of supplies of manufactured goods, mechanics, &c., furnished to the South—or, if they continue to supply, it must be in competition with all Europe; besides this, they will have forced the South to manufacture for its own use, as well as to produce its own corn, flour and meat.

I have never read the history of the overthrow and complete downfall of any nation or people that has surprised me so much as this complete overthrow of our own. It does appear to me that the people everywhere have run stark mad, and it is not one party alone, but all together seeming to vie with each other, and striving to see which can be most extravagant in his madness. And what is it all for? Certainly no one of sane mind can, for a moment, believe that the horrible war now being waged between the two great sections of our once great and happy country can tend to, or ever result in, Union and harmony. Can rapine, robbery, murder, and all the horrors of this barbarous war, instigated and carried on by the worst of passions and worst of men, ever produce harmony and Union? No, never. Suppose, for a moment, that the North overrun, devastate the South, murder and destroy all the whites, and let loose all the blacks, what will be gained by it? Will it restore Union and harmony? No, never. But it will ruin every interest of the North—commercial, manufacturing and agricultural. But the South will not be overrun and ruined; they will gain their Independence as our fathers did, and perpetuate Religious and Civil Liberty.

How much better to have let the South go by herself, as she proposed, peaceably. Agreeable to the Constitution and the compact formed by “the fathers,” the South had the same, or equal, interest in all that belonged to the whole Union, and the same legal and equitable rights in all things pertaining to it, as the North; and as to equitable rights, from whence has been derived the money that paid the debt of the war of the Revolution, and all succeeding wars with England, the Indians, Mexico, &c.? Whence came the money that built all our naval ships, &c.; that has built all our forts, arsenals, &c.; our splendid post-offices, custom-houses, and other public buildings? Whence came all the money that has paid the annual expenditures—the support of hundreds of thousands of idle, in many cases drunken, useless, almost vagabond, Government dependents, and grog-shop political party demagogues, by whom and through whom the people have been maddened to their own destruction, and with it all the freedom of man is gone? I say, whence came the

money for all this—who paid it? Now every one must know that all the money paid out by our Government, for all causes—war, purchase of lands or new territory—since the war of the Revolution to this time, (with two exceptions, and that but small in amount by direct taxation,) has come from the duties on imports and the sale of public lands; and who has paid these duties on imports, and from whence came the public lands? The South and the West being agriculturists, and not manufacturers, have paid almost all the duty. And not only have the Great West and South paid the debts of, and supported, the Government, but, at the same time, this unequal, unjust tax upon the South and the West, has been a tribute to the people of the North and East, and to their capital—they being merchants and manufacturers. The public land, too, except what was given by Virginia to the old thirteen States—now *Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin*—have all been purchased by money from duties on imports and sales of public lands. Then, in equity, to whom should all the naval ships, forts, arsenals, public lands, &c., belong? Who has paid for them? The South claim but her equal share with her right to free government. Did our fathers in the Revolution claim more? No; it is just what they fought for, and suffered for. But they gained what they paid for with their toil, trials and blood—Religious and Civil Liberty, Freedom, Equality and Justice to man. Man was made a sovereign; they proclaimed this to the world. Not only were the thirteen States declared free, independent, sovereign States, with executive, legislative and judicial powers and branches; but man everywhere was free, and a new era dawned in the history of men. But they were rebels and traitors; Washington was a rebel and traitor, and a price set for his head. And they were truly rebels and traitors, for the Crown owned all the land, and claimed all the people as subjects, with the exclusive, undisputed right to use them at will and to pleasure. But our fathers foreswore their allegiance to any but to the God of Heaven and Earth, and claimed the wilderness as their inheritance, for the good of man at large. They instituted a government as their agent, to transact the business for the whole, in which all were or might be equally interested, but which could not be done by each State acting separate and distinct from the others so well as if done by an agent acting for all together. The powers of this agent were clearly defined and restricted, its limits fixed so that it could never transcend them. They made *the People the Government*, and the agent subject to them, and never the people the subjects of the Government. Why, in the early part of my life, were a man called a subject, it would have been considered an indignity, for all felt that the inheritance bequeathed by our fathers established that none but despots and monarchs could any more claim man as a subject. But it now seems that all the ideas, precedents and acts of the fathers are forgotten, and here one section of this great country is fighting to the death to overrun and subjugate the other.

No, my dear sister, I see no hope for any end to this war that can ever restore union and harmony; that is now gone forever. Had the South been permitted to have gone out peaceably, she would have formed such commercial treaties with all Europe as would have opened her ports to free trade, and the Great West, being exclusively agricultural, would soon see that its interest compelled it to form an alliance with the South, by which the Great West would forever secure a market in the South for its products, and, more important still, a free market, to a free trade with all Europe, South America, Mexico, all the Islands, and, in fact, all the world, without paying tribute to any. And California and Oregon, so soon as they cannot get all they want from the United States Treasury, would also form a separate government. Then the North and Eastern States would be left under a military despotism, with an enormous debt;



commerce, manufactures, and every interest prostrate; ruin, starvation and dismay at every corner, with taxation beyond endurance, and exchanges of commodities, the fruits of mechanic labor, cut off with the South and West, which latter has been the never-failing source of wealth and power to the North and East. The peaceable separation of the South would have produced all this, and then reflection and sad experience might have brought the minds of the people everywhere to a right understanding of the whole subject, with a just appreciation of the great, the incalculable loss to all of the disruption; and, above all, a proper appreciation of the separate, distinct interests of each section, and in time a reconstruction might have been formed under and upon the basis of the old Constitution, defining and limiting Congress, beyond the power of construction to evade, or of the wisdom of all the wise Daniels in the land to expound and confound away; and the revenue for the support of the Government to be alone from direct taxation and the sale of the public lands, with no tariff on imports, but free trade and a free exchange of all products and commodities with all the world; then ours would still be a glorious Union, what our fathers intended it; property would then pay the expenses of the Government, and labor free and man enjoy the full fruits of his toil, and pay no tribute as now, by the tariff, to capital; labor being the source of all wealth, should never pay tribute to it, but all the legislation of the world has had for its great object and aim the increase of the power of wealth over labor, and the entire subjugation of labor to it. But, alas! I now fear that this bloody, barbarous war will so embitter the feelings towards each other, that there can be no hope of reconstruction. The South, so far as I can learn, seem to be united to a man, and feel as our fathers, that they are contending for their liberty, their freedom, their independence; feel that they had equal rights in the Union with the North—that these rights have been disregarded, and the compact which bound them together, violated and sundered by the North. While it seems that the North assumes, as the Crown of England did in our Revolution, that it is the sole owner of the government—the flag, the lands, and the people,—and, as England did the North, fight for conquest, a subjugation of the South; and if they succeed, to whom will the South be subject? Certainly not to the people of the Union; such was not the intention of the fathers, and nowhere provided for in the Constitution or compact;—but, alas! to some military despot. I look upon a military despotism over the North as inevitable, impossible to be prevented. Mr. Lincoln and his Cabinet may have no such intention, but have now an organized military power of 650,000 men; add to it the contractors, speculators, attendants, attaches, and those actually interested in the continuance of the war—200,000 to 300,000 more—and this immense army is beyond the power of Mr. Lincoln or the people to control. A military despotism is for their interest, and they will have it; some chieftain will lead them on to it, and there is no power to restrain them, and Mr. Lincoln and his party must give in to, or be swept away with, the current that will overwhelm all.

I know there are those who make Abolition the basis of all their acts here and all their hopes of Heaven hereafter, and they are a numerous class, too. But it appears to me they do not see that it was an all-wise and an overruling Providence that sent the negro into bondage, for otherwise they could not come here to be trained to labor, to civilization, and to Christianity; to be carried, in God's own proper time, to their native land to train to labor, Christianize and civilize the lower than heathen or savage barbarian. Can any one pretend that God's Providence is not seen in all this? And can any one pretend that the slaves in the Southern States are not, in their worst condition, ten thousand times better off than the negroes in their native land? And can any one pretend that

God's Providence is not visible in all this, as well as in the progress made in civilization and Christianity in Africa? But who are the Abolitionists who make such a hue and cry for human freedom? Alas! many of them do not believe in a God at all. I say, who are they? Many the most conspicuous, are they not, Free Thinkers, Free Lovers, Spiritual Rappers, Mesmerisers, Mormons, Women's Rights, Fanny Wrights, Agrarians, Anti-Renters, &c. &c.? Are such people—infidels, heretics, disowning the Saviour who bought them: immoral, drunkards, and worse than vagabonds;—are such people to lead such a great and glorious nation as this was to ruin, to destruction? Such are the people who have raised the cry for universal human freedom; yes, it is universal freedom they demand in all things—unrestrained indulgence of all their vile passions, prejudices and appetites. Alas! with them what would be sacred? Virtue, honor and Christianity would not, for they discard them all, and violate the first principles of freedom and Christianity—Charity—and with the power, would hang and burn every one not subscribing to their profane dogmas. Till Mr. Lincoln, no one of them has ever proposed any disposition of the negro after emancipation. They cry human freedom, but what will they do with the emancipated negro? The North do not want them, and many States have, by legislative acts, excluded them, and none allow them to *civil freedom*. It is true, many preach amalgamation, and still they are not permitted to seats in any public conveyance, nor to any social equality or political rights.

Mr. Lincoln's scheme of emancipation and colonization in some foreign country, by purchase of territory for them, is just as Utopian as if he proposed to take them to the moon. First, he cannot emancipate until he gets the power so to do, and that cannot be done until the entire South shall be subjugated; and that cannot be done till all the white population of the South is exterminated. And when all that is done, the negroes, if any remain, will be unwilling to be removed, and if sent at all must be by force; would this be liberty and freedom? But suppose that Mr. Lincoln and his party could succeed, and emancipate all the 4,000,000 of slaves, what would he do with them? for most surely they could not remain in the South where they now are, for there could be no white population remain to employ, protect, guide and provide for them, and they are too improvident to do this for themselves—never had any such experience, no, never had any thought for the morrow. No, they would be thrown loose paupers on the North. And to make any progress in Mr. Lincoln's plan of colonization, there are not ships enough in all the world to make an impression on them; besides, from whence the means to carry out this gigantic Utopian scheme? Will the North, after paying the tax on the war debt, pay this also? The South certainly will never pay it, or any part of it. But, perhaps Mr. Lincoln will confiscate and sell all the lands South, but who will buy, who will have the money to pay? No, Mr. Lincoln's plan is so wild, so impracticable, that no person of sane mind and common sense can for a moment entertain or believe any one can be serious in proposing it, and it can be looked upon only as a blind to lure the people of Maryland, Western Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri to loyalty to Mr. Lincoln's government, while the real plan is to instigate the slaves to a revolt against their masters, and arm and aid them to burn their cities, rob and murder them; to inflame the slaves to madness, and turn them loose upon helpless women and children. Such is proclaimed as the policy and intent of one section of this country against the other, both having equal rights under the compact or Constitution, which, by our fathers, made them one people, each pledged and bound to the other to fulfill the conditions of that compact, and protect each other in their rights under it. The government, their agent, was instituted by them for that purpose, and not an instrument with power and authority to

coerce and subjugate one section to the other. By the Revolution our fathers threw off their vassalage, and in the compact formed by the thirteen independent, sovereign States, they were made equal, one with the other, and no one would be or could be made a vassal to the others; even the suspicion that the idea of the vassalage of one of the States, or sections, to the others, would have sundered them forever.

Now, I ask, is this war, this attempt to coerce into subjection one section of this country to the other, authorized by the compact? Is it carrying out and fulfilling the conditions of the Constitution? When the compact (the Constitution) was formed, slavery existed in all the States except Massachusetts, and slavery was as much provided for, and all the States pledged to the owners for its support and protection, as for any other interest; and more so, because this was a special interest. And now, I ask, is the arming the slaves, and instigating them to insurrection, and turning them loose on their masters, their helpless wives and children, to pillage, murder, and commit all the horrid crimes that their natural instincts and half barbaric passions and appetites may suggest, the fulfillment of the conditions of the compact? Is this the Christianity, the good fellowship to be exhibited and meted out by one section of a great, a once free, happy, united people, to the other? I am sick, I am bewildered; I cannot comprehend at all the motives or means by which the people have been lead by the political demagogues to this madness, which is to be the sure means of the overthrow of all that our fathers fought for, and considered so dear to us as a nation and to posterity for all time to come. It does appear to me that God is maddening the people everywhere for their own destruction.

As before remarked, when the Constitution was adopted slavery existed in all the States but one, and since my remembrance slavery has been abolished in all the free States. And why was it abolished? Because the emigration of free white labor from Europe came in competition and caused it to be unprofitable. And how was it managed? Why the slaves were sent South and sold, so that when the time fixed for emancipation arrived there were but few slaves to be made free. And what has been the condition since of those made free, together with those who have been under the cry of "human freedom" enticed away from their masters? Yes, I may say stolen from their masters, for, by the Constitution, it is as much of a theft as the taking of any other commodity? I say, what has been their condition? With few exceptions, are they not a degraded class, more so than when slaves? Has not emancipation tended to extermination? Go to our large cities, Philadelphia and New York; is there any class so miserable, so destitute, so immoral, and so little capable of taking care for themselves? Go to Anthony and other such streets in New York, as when I was a resident there—and the same in Philadelphia and other cities—and tell me, is there in the very extreme, worst cases in the South, any suffering, and misery, and degradation, and crime to compare with these? Why, you may go from Washington to New Orleans and Texas, and for the entire distance you cannot find so much squalid, abject misery, entire destitution, suffering, want, filth, immorality, indolence and crime, as there existed in Anthony street, New York, when I knew it. The philanthropist, the humane, the Christian, should bend his efforts and use his means to benefit the condition of mankind, pecuniarily so far as by labor to produce the necessary comforts of life, morally, religiously, civilly and politically—not degrade and make him ten times worse off in all respects.

There are, no doubt, cases hard to be borne, and are truly inhuman. I have been in almost all the slave States, with all my feelings and strong prejudices from a Northern education and associations; and I have also visited almost all the nations and peoples of Europe, as well as Asia,



China, &c., and have had time and opportunities to examine into the forms and workings of different governments, and conditions of the people at large, and I have looked back to my then happy country with the inexpressible pleasure that nowhere have I found what is termed the laboring classes so well off as even "the poor slaves" in our Southern States. There are hardships everywhere for the poor and destitute, but the slave is not poor or destitute; he must be feed and clothed by his master, and made comfortable, else he is unable to labor, and rather than a profit is a burden to his master; with no better motive, self-interest compels this, and no thought for the morrow is forced upon the slave; and the master who is inhuman to, and does not properly clothe, feed and care for his slaves, is subject to the censure and just indignation of the community around him.

It is charged that family relations are broken up, husband, wife and children sundered, &c. This, too, is exaggerated. But does it not take place amongst the whites even in the free States? Are not parents often, from extreme poverty and destitution, obliged to bind out their offspring, and often to most cruel masters? And even the humane and charitable institutions, and even public authorities, do it for them. And fathers, often, from necessity, forced to separate from wife and family and go to distant States and countries to procure a living. And does not the mother often send her children as paupers to the poorhouse, and herself go out to service the worst of slavery? And go through all the manufacturing districts, in seasons of depression in business or some political crisis, when the masters set out to get the tariff increased, or gain the election of some party political demagogue, and see the poor operatives, thrust out of employment, without means of subsistence, to starve and suffer till the master gains his point. And look at their moral condition. Is not the slave of the South better off than this? Then go to England, from whence this abolition excitement for a long time received its greatest support. Look at the miserable, suffering, starving mendicant—transported for life as a penalty for taking a loaf of bread, when the suffering from starvation forbade longer restraint? Go to the coal mines, and see the thousands of both sexes herded together, naked or nearly so, as ignorant as brute beast, almost idiots—many of whom the light of day has never shone upon. Are not the slaves of the South more happy and better off than these? Then go to London, the great Babylon, and see, first, the wretched, fallen women. What misery, what abject poverty and suffering! Steeped in vice, crime and disease, many of them loathsome to behold, and thousands of them brought to this degradation and misery from actual starvation and want! Of such in London, there are thirty thousand (30,000,) who have no home, no shelter from the cold and storm, and spend their nights on the door-steps and porches of the houses in the streets. Are not the slaves of the South far better off than these? And these thirty thousand homeless, houseless, friendless, outcast women are but a small part of all England. The population of England, Ireland and Scotland is about 30,000,000. There are less than 400,000 who have an income annually of seven hundred and fifty dollars (\$750) each, though some say about 150,000 out of the 400,000 have larger, some very large incomes; but what of the 29,600,000 that do not any one have \$750 per annum? Many of them rarely, if ever, eat meat at all, and want is so familiar that they do not complain. They are inured to vice and crime, and ignorant almost as the brute creation. Let any one pass through crowds of them as I have done, in London and other cities, and witness the squalid suffering for want of proper food, the ghostly, bloodless countenances and half-clad bodies, turned out perhaps to witness the splendid retinue of some royal cortege pass; and if there is any, even a spark of humanity left, the heart must bleed for them, and exclaim,

Are not the slaves of the South far better off than these? Yes, I can truly say that my heart has ached and bled for them, and felt proud and rejoiced at the contrast with my own once happy country, slaves and all.

I might go with you to, and show the condition of, the working classes of other countries, kingdoms and nations, with the splendid magnificence of crowns, courts, nobles, and their attendants, the support of which is always drawn from the hard-earnings of labor, and, in all the countries, which I have visited, to an extent to produce want, starvation and crime, and keep the laboring classes as low and as ignorant as possible; and I have looked back to my own dear country, with a glorious exultation and pride that my lot had been cast in a land of freedom from tyranny and oppression, where man could unrestrainedly worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, enjoy the full fruits of his labor, and with proper industry and economy could know no want. But, alas! it was but a dream, and is now all past forever—all gone; man is no longer free, but subject to military despotism; all the rights and privileges bequeathed by our fathers will soon be taken from him, and the fruits of his toil go to support a despot, crown, court, nobles and attendants.

I have here instituted a comparison between the destitute, suffering whites, in our own country and that of England, with the condition of the slaves in the Southern States, not because I favor slavery, for human bondage is obnoxious to my American instincts; but, first, to show that those who cry so loudly against it, could find a much more deserving, and much more suffering subject for their humanity and philanthropy at home—they who make the cry being mostly Englishmen and Americans; and because I have never believed this the way to benefit, or that the good of the slave was the true object of interest at heart. All the acts of those people confirm this latter fact. What condition have they placed them in, in the free States, civilly, politically and morally? And what do they now propose? Why, cast them loose, with no means for their support—to eject them out of the country. God in His infinite wisdom sent them here for His own special purpose, and no one who believes in a Supreme Ruler of the universe can for a moment doubt that His intentions are abundantly manifest, and being carried out, and will be carried out fully to the end; and those who do not even believe in His name, with all their “human reason” cannot alter one jot or one tittle of His all-wise decrees; but their rebellion against Him will surely bring His curse, not only upon their heads, but upon those also who consort with them. Such has been and will prove the result of their acts, which have brought God’s curse upon our once happy nation.

All who are conversant with the subject must know and see clearly, that every act of those all-wise, self-righteous, fanatical “Human reasonites” reformers, has but riveted the chains more firmly upon the bondmen, increased their burdens, lessened their liberty and privileges, diminished instruction, weakened confidence between master and slave, and rendered their whole lot in life fifty times harder in all and every respect than it would have been without their meddling, inhuman, unchristian, and unconstitutional interference.

The South have not been the founders of slavery; it was entailed upon us North and South by England. I have shown that it was interest, and not humanity, that excluded slavery from the North; for who carried on the African slave trade till it became Piracy, by the Act of Congress—but the North? And by whom was that Act of Congress advocated?—was it not Southern Statesmen? and I have just so much charity for, as to believe that, the Northern manufacturers would this day have their mills filled with black slaves, provided they could turn them out destitute as they do the whites, when they cannot employ them to a profit; while with the Southern slave owner the case is very different—he is obliged to feed,



clothe and protect his slaves, whether he gets anything from the fruits of their labor or not. In my acquaintance with the South I have seen times when their crops would not sell except at a very low price, and the fruits of the labor of a whole plantation was required to feed and clothe the slaves; and often too, on a plantation of 100 to 150 negroes, 30 to 50 of young, old, decrepited, and infirm—not capable to labor at all,—these I have seen nursed and cared for even by the wife and daughters of their master, and this was not considered as humane or charitable, but a duty, an interest—to be faithfully regarded: and the master feels himself bound to this, and never dreams of casting them off upon the world when no longer useful or profitable to him, as with the white labor at the North. In witnessing this, I have often prayed that all mankind everywhere, might be as well cared for and as well off as the Southern slave. There are, undoubtedly, hard cases, and hard masters—just as with the white masters at the North; but the worst cases I have witnessed or heard of, are masters who have gone from the North and become slave owners, and whose friends and relations North cry the loudest against slavery; while the Southern slave owner feels that his slaves have been bequeathed to him, perhaps been in his family for generations; he too has grown up with many of his slaves—mutual feelings and interests exist, and in many cases strong friendships and attachments—and the master feels himself bound by all that is honorable or sacred, to provide for and protect them. He feels it a charge from High Heaven which he cannot forego, and though it might be for his interest or pleasure (which I have known to be in many cases) to emancipate them, he does not do it to cast them on the cold world helpless and destitute, he therefore continues his charge, his duty, with all his family to aid him; and have seen myself, highly educated, accomplished ladies and their daughters, making clothing with their own hands, attending the sick and nursing the young, as well as the old and infirm, till I have concluded they themselves were in the closest bondage; and this has not been heralded to all the world in all the Newspapers, as done by an association of christian, humane ladies, or by societies of towns, cities, and districts, but separate and distinct, by the owner of each plantation, and they have not thanked God that they are better than their neighbours. Now, would it be philanthropy, or christian humanity to forcibly break up this system of responsibility and dependence and turn loose 4,000,000 of ignorant, destitute, improvident, I may say helpless (as they are without a guide and superior protector) blacks upon the world? Would it be christian—would it be humane—to instigate their hatred against those whom they have always looked to as their superiors and protectors? to arm them to rob and murder, and throw loose upon the unprotected, helpless women and children, who have ministered to their wants, and nursed them in illness—would it be humane even to the blacks? would it not be more barbarous, yes, more horrid even than the French Revolution of 1793. My mind revolts with horror from such a scene, and this is just what is now proposed to do by the North against the South. Oh! my Country! my Country! my whole country North and South. Oh, that God would make me the instrument, or that my life could be the sacrifice to restore it to what our fathers made and bequeathed it to us; but alas, I am helpless, I can do nothing. Oh, that I could travel from Maine to Texas and from the Gulf to the great Lakes—yes, I would do it, willingly, and bare-foot too, were that the condition, and talk to the people everywhere, reason dispassionately with, and tell them how great, how inestimable is the prize they are trampling under their feet, and tell them what I have seen in all the world; and how transcendently superior was their condition and position to all mankind. And oh, how can they willingly and freely of their own choice and act, cast this all from them forever. Alas, alas! it seems that the Die is cast—the seal is set—it must

be so, and I can do my country no good : alas ! how can any one do any good, for no one is allowed to speak or even think differently from the military power which now rules this land. Is this the freedom our fathers bequeathed to us ? I am here in the heart of this strife, this overthrow of all that I have considered as most dear and sacred to man. I have no intercourse or communion with any North or South—I have isolated myself from the world, and labor for my daily bread—I have no interest North or South to influence my opinions, or be ruined by the dire calamity of this political tornado, which spreads over, engulphs and devastates our whole country—and I am now an old man, and no children to inherit the curse that is upon us ; and at the utmost the years which Providence may be pleased to allot to me, cannot be many ; my habits simple, and therefore wants are few, so that there are few indeed with so little personal interest. Still my heart bleeds for my country, my whole country—and I would that it had been God's will to have taken me to Himself, and spared me the pain of witnessing the downfall, the utter overthrow of all, in a government and country, people and all, of which I have felt such a glorious pride, and in which I have seen so much general happiness and universal prosperity. Situated as I am, I am compelled to look upon the events transpiring around me, and judge of what is passing without prejudice or interest, agreeable to the dictates of my conscience, and from facts which cannot be gainsaid. Now the facts are as clear as noon-day to my mind, that had this slavery question been left where it should have been left, where the Constitution, the compact, (which made the Thirteen independent States a nation, a people) found and left it, with the States where it existed, and not made a party political question ; a political geographical division could never have been made. Before the attempt to make it a party question, there was but one feeling and but one view of the subject, and that was, it was a subject over which Congress, by the compact, was fully and clearly restrained ; nor was it for a moment doubted that it would ever remain so ; and the people of the North even, would as soon have thought of dictating to the South what crop they should raise, or how they should feed, clothe and educate their children, as in any way meddle with slavery ; and it was never dreamed that it could ever be made a subject of discord, much less of strife and civil war. The feeling everywhere was, that slavery was a burden rather than benefit, and in time, the competition with free white labor would from interest, as had been in the North, force the abandonment of it at least in the border States, Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, &c., which would have been accomplished, as had been done in the North, without strife or discord, by sending slaves farther South. Such, it appears to me, would have been the plan on which Providence would have smiled, and the owner and slave both benefitted ; such was the intention of the border States I have named, and the State of Virginia came within one vote in its Legislature of its accomplishment. But to turn loose the slaves of even those border States, without means of support, would have been wicked, cruel and impossible ; they would have been destitute, improvident, incapable of providing for themselves, and thrown as paupers upon the white population—a curse to themselves and to their former masters. Such was the position and condition of Slavery until the purchase of Louisiana, which as it was before the purchase, a slave territory from New Orleans to our Northern boundary with England, and, by the law of Nations continued to be slave territory after the purchase ; to this period no agitation, no excitement of the slave question had been made or even thought of, a subject over which Congress could have no control, or any power of action. Virginia, it is true, in her cessions of the North-West Territory, now the State of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, &c., &c., made the condition, that slavery should be excluded ; this as the donor, she had a right to do, but the condition by the Constitution became

inoperative, so soon as the territory was formed into States, after which Congress could have no control over it, as any State may adopt or abolish slavery at its pleasure, notwithstanding any acts of Congress or other States to the contrary. This was in effect, an inoperative restriction, was influenced by a motive of interest rather than consideration for the slave; at that time the production of tobacco from slave labor was profitable, and Virginia feared her slaves might be drawn off to the new territory to produce tobacco in competition, to her disadvantage; and to the time that Missouri applied to be admitted a State of the Union, all was peace and harmony—but as the purchase of Louisiana gave an immense territory, equal to several States, and slave States, too, agriculturists, producers from the soil of sugar, cotton, tobacco, rice, hemp, breadstuffs and meat, and all of which except sugar, tobacco and hemp, produced at a less cost than in any other part of the world, consequently could receive no benefit from a protective tariff—therefore, the population would reasonably and naturally oppose being taxed by a tariff to make them tributary to interests, benefitted by it.

Even at the time of the Declaration of our Independence there was a party in favor of a Monarchy, with a Court, Nobles, &c. Mr. Hamilton headed this old English sentiment and party. As they could not gain a monarchy, they aimed to approach as near to it as possible, and not make their designs too palpable; they commenced with bounties on fisheries, protection and premiums, on navigation and commerce, and then a United States Bank, and sad to relate, Gen. Washington assented to these, too, against his own better judgment, expressed before in the clearest and strongest terms. These fostered interests, were all to the people of New England, and just so far as they were benefitted, the South and all the agricultural interests of the country being consumers of the fruits and products of the people of the New England States, were taxed unjustly, unconstitutionally. This same Hamiltonian party, were active, energetic, and pushing forward their plans for the encouragement, protection and bounty, to individuals, interests combined by individuals, charters, &c.; they however, began to see that the purely agricultural States began to view their acts as burthensome to them, unauthorized by the compact or Constitution, and subversive of the rights and independence of the States which formed the compact—therefore, it was, that the Hamiltonian party, Rufus King, of New York, their leader, saw, that more slave States, as they would be purely agricultural in all their interests, and could not be brought into their schemes for the subversion of the Constitution, and making the acts of Congress omnipotent, opposed the admittance of Missouri as a State, though Missouri had complied with all the conditions of the Constitution. In fact Congress has no power under the Constitution to reject a State when applying with a "Republican form of Government"—it is a subject over which Congress has no power to act. At this period the first cry of human freedom was raised, and so efficient was it made, that Missouri could not be admitted until a compromise, as it was termed was made, fixing the line of 36°-30—the North of which slavery could never exist, but South of it slavery might or might not exist, as the people elected for themselves. Here was a vile and palpable overthrow of the constitution, and a violent outrage upon the people; and look at its absurdity. No one, *as yet*, pretends that Congress can have or has any power to legislate for the municipal or other laws of any State, or that Congress has any power to prevent any State from adopting or abolishing slavery at will; the whole act was wicked in the extreme, because it excited the people of the whole country to antagonistic interests, prejudices, and passions—kindled a fire to which they have been piling up fuel till they have consumed and destroyed the most splendid and perfect fabric of Government ever devised by human wisdom. The act was absurd be-



cause inoperative just so soon as the territory was made a State—the absurdity could not have been more palpable had these wise Daniels taken a map and drawn a line across over the Mississippi, and in their profound wisdom enacted that just so far shalt thou flow down but no farther—what would have been the result? Why the river would have regarded the mark on this map just as much as do the States when made such, this restriction. The Hamiltonians thought they had in this secured the great aim and object of their party. Humanity and freedom for the slave entered into and was made their cry, but never entered into the heart. This compromise gave to them, as they supposed, all the territory North of 36°-30 to make into many States entirely under their control, as they would be settled mostly from New England and from Europe—people with the prejudice formed from their political cry for freedom, and dependent on the New England States for an outfit in their commencement in the wilderness, as well as dependent for a market for their produce, and return in changed commodities, and in every instance the East has stimulated the territories to States. But while the North gained all this immense territory, the South was almost shut up in her then States. The most distinguished statesmen at the South opposed this so called compromise—pronounced it a violation of the compact which bound the States together—would never acknowledge that the States or the people had ever given to Congress the power to make compromises or any way to alter, amend, abridge, or transcend the powers conferred by the Constitution. But alas! these were always those of the South—men of high political repute, who went with and sustained the Hamiltonian party; and I can only account for the course of this from the supposition that they must have been influenced by the hope of some great gain to themselves or friends from the many unconstitutional grants by Congress; but the high character of many of these men almost exclude such a supposition, or even the fear of it. But certainly from their known intelligence—with their acknowledged, erudite, legal reputation, it is very strange that they should so mislead, misinterpret, and mystify and confound, an instrument so plain, so clear, so simple, and yet so comprehensive as “the Constitution,” and could never in my mind come to any other conclusion than, that they, from natural instinct, some inherent right, they felt such a propensity towards and desire for a monarchy, with nobles, &c., with an omnipotent Congress, that they could not resist. These, the men of the South, have been the true cause of the overthrow of our institutions; their votes in Congress have been the food and sustenance, yes, the very life of the Hamiltonians who are now ruling our land with Despotie, Military power. These men of the South have done this because up to recently, the Hamiltonians could not have carried any of their measures without this Southern aid.

At this period in our history, 1820, we were just emerging from the war of 1812-14—government and people in debt; previous to the war the predominant interest of New England was commerce, next to that agriculture, the great trade was with the West Indies; but the war broke up and prostrated these interests so much so, that all New England opposed the war and refused aid to the Government in carrying it on; and actually assembled a convention at Hartford, Connecticut, with the avowed purpose of dissolving the Union: this convention was composed of the most influential men and distinguished politicians of New England. The Peace adjourned the Convention, and a temporary harmony existed. But up to 1824, and later, the predominant interest of Massachusetts was commerce and agriculture, and opposed, with all its force and talent, the tariff system, as unconstitutional, unequal, unjust, and subversive of the rights of the people. The most powerful argument ever made by Mr. Webster in Congress was against the tariff system in, I think, 1824. Up to this period Massachusetts was but just commencing to manufacture; if

my memory is correct, there was no movement at Lowell till after 1820. The first machinery for spinning cotton put in operation anywhere was by John Slater, an Englishman, at Pawtucket, Rhode Island, at about or a little prior to the commencement of the war of 1812. This succeeded so well—and during the war the entire cessation of all imports caused a great demand for manufactured goods, such as we had before been supplied with, both from England and India—this turned all the capital and enterprise, as well as the inventive, mechanical genius of New England to manufacturing both machinery and goods; and, in fact, a man was thought below mediocrity if he had not invented some machine. When peace took place all these interests, which had grown up under hot-house influence, were prostrated by the competition they were subjected to from an over-importation of English fabrics. Then first commenced the cry for protection by the enactment of heavy import duties by Congress, and many went so far as to demand an entire prohibition of foreign goods. And though this a bounty, or premium upon the labor, capital, industry and enterprise of the one exclusive section of the Union could be carried out and sustained only by a tax upon, and making the other great and paramount section and interest of agriculture tributary to it, the cry, as always since, was raised, that we must be independent in all things, and not look abroad for the supply of any of our numerous wants, and the man who would not join in it was not patriotic, was denounced as a traitor. The motives which influenced the actors of this great scene in our political course was, at the commencement and to this day, that of interest alone, for the duties levied on imports enabled them to charge just as much more for their own as the duties and expenses of importation cost upon the foreign goods, this being from 20 to 30, 40, and some times 100 per cent. on the cost in Europe—of course a tax upon the consumer, eight-tenths being either agriculturists or agricultural laborers. Thus the labor of the country from that day to this has paid the debts of, and supported, the Government. I say the labor, because it is the laboring man that consumes most largely in manufactured goods in proportion to his means, and the labor in manufactures is not exempt from this tax, though the master gets its full benefit. The laboring man on the farm, in the machine shop, or the manufactory, generally wears a coat, vest, pants, shoes, hat, &c., &c., for a year will cost him \$30 to \$50, and we will suppose all to be of American manufacture, for which the master receives a bonus from Congress of 30 per cent. and upwards, would amount to a direct (though indirectly collected) tax on each laboring man in the Union of \$9 to \$15 per annum for himself alone. But suppose him to have a wife and children, the tax would be augmented in proportion to the amount consumed, and would be double or triple. This laboring man, with no family, works for a farmer for \$10 to \$12 per month and board, and here is 10 per cent. of his earnings made tributary to the capital employed in manufacturing, and what per centage of their actual wealth do the wealthy pay? Many, in fact, do not expend more for clothing, &c., than the poor laborer.

The selfishness of the advocates of this system has blinded them to all other interests and considerations. They have entirely lost sight of, or never understood, the principles, the fixed, natural laws, which has ever, and will ever regulate and govern trade, commerce and intercourse between different nations and peoples, with different products, different habits and different industries, and, consequently, different wants. One nation, from climate or soil, or mechanic labor, genius, or industry, produces an abundance, beyond its own wants, but its surplus products are wanted by another nation, or people, in exchange for a product or commodity of which it has a surplus. Now to supply the wants of these different peoples in commodities which they do not each of itself produce,



they have no means to purchase except from the sale of their surplus, and this sale can only be effected by a sale one to the other, and can be paid for only in a return purchase or exchange. These are laws and principles as fixed as the immoveable hills. A nation or people may shut itself up, and exclude the products and commodities of all other nations, and live within its own shell, and what will be its condition? What will be done with the surplus products of its soil, the fruits of its labor, the source of all national, as well as individual wealth? Why, if it cannot be sold and exchanged for other commodities with other nations, it must become a waste, and far worse than a waste, because it would bring want upon all and prostrate the energies of labor, and place all the world in precisely the condition of the Chinese, as regards their intercourse and commerce with the world. Now it is a fact, so well known, that it is indisputable, that labor is the foundation, the source of all wealth, national or individual—as well in the products from the soil as from hand or mechanic labor, which wealth is only attainable or realized by the sale of all surplus beyond a supply for the natural wants of the producer, and this sale returns a supply of other different commodities, adding comforts and luxuries even to the enjoyment of the laborer; and if the sale of his surplus products goes beyond this, it is so much real, actual wealth, both to himself and the nation to which he belongs. These are rules, laws and principles, ordained by the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and the selfish interest of wealth, unjust, oppressive acts of legislature or tariff restrictions cannot alter them, except by debasing and prostrating labor, and making it entirely subject to capital; and, therefore, prostrating the energies, restricting the sources of wealth's supply and impoverishing the nation. For, go where you may, and that nation or people which has the fewest restrictions upon its commerce, intercourse and exchanges of commodities with other nations will be found the most humane, the most moral, the most intelligent, the most prosperous, with the most general comfort and happiness. If it be desirable and necessary to the general good of a people to be moral (and who can doubt it?) then the legislature of a nation should enact no laws which offer a bribe to their evasion, and though too often considered a clever act to evade a customs law, it has been, as I have often witnessed, the first loosing of moral obligation and feeling, and sure to lead on to an entire overthrow of every principle which should be sacred in the character of man. Now we all know that the great and fertile West can produce breadstuffs and meat (food for man) at a cost below what it can be produced for in any part of the world, and in amount almost or quite equal to supply the wants of all the world; but still the Great West does not produce sugar, molasses, coffee, tea—does not manufacture silks and other fabrics of luxury and necessity. Now suppose that the West could find no outlet, no market, for its surplus articles of food, how could the West procure the articles which it does not produce but which it wants? It is true that the New England States can manufacture the cotton, woolen, and many articles of hardware, cutlery, &c. &c., which the West want; and it is also true that New England will take from the West all they want in corn, wheat, meat, &c., but not to one tithe of the surplus which the West desires to dispose of, or one-fourth the amount of return articles wanted and demanded by the West. And now, because New England cannot produce articles of food sufficient for its wants, but can manufacture cotton, woolen, and other goods, cheaper than the West, is it right, is it just, is it in conformity with the compact made by “the fathers,” that the West should be made to pay tribute to the capital and enterprise of New England, when, too, she could have all her wants supplied (without paying tribute) by other nations and peoples, who want her surplus food in exchange? It has always astonished me to see the West, not only submit to this tyranny and oppression, but advocating and supporting it.

Until after 1824, the now Great West was of but small consideration in the national scale; the population of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois was sparse and small, with no outlet for its then small amount of the products from the soil except by the Mississippi river, so that, in fact, the people of those States found themselves more directly connected and interested with the South than with the New England States, and consequently voted with the South against the tariff system, &c. But the opening of the New York and Erie Canal, in 1824, was the commencement of a new era; it opened the entire lake country to all the markets of the world, and made New York city the great commercial depot and banking house for the American continent; it caused an immense demand for lands in the lake States, stimulated immigration from Europe, and the rapidity with which the Western States were filled up is without a parallel in the history of mankind. These States were filled up from New England (where the soil was too sterile to produce a comparative return to labor) and from Europe. Up to this time Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, and southern Pennsylvania, New Jersey and southern New York, were the wheat-producing States. In western New York even, before the opening of the canal, wheat sold as low as twenty-five (25) cents per bushel, and I have heard of a still lower price. But the canal made an entire revolution. Its results far surpassed its most sanguine advocates. Up to the war of 1812 the commercial tonnage of Boston exceeded that of New York, and the population of New York and Philadelphia was nearly equal. But the immense emigration from Europe direct to New York for the West, and the immense produce of the West required an increased amount of tonnage for the transit of the emigration to, as well as the produce from, New York to markets. And this augmentation of tonnage is also without a parallel. This was further stimulated by the making of New York the great depot of everything, the South having but a small amount of commercial marine, having found agriculture the most available and profitable application of its labor, depended on the employment of Northern tonnage as their carriers, and Northern agents for the sale of their produce, as well as a return supply of commodities for their necessary and luxurious wants, this became unavoidable from the fact that the New England States, with New York, had most unjustly and unconstitutionally procured an act from Congress excluding all foreign vessels from carrying between the States, and as New York was the great depot, and Banking House for all, the South was forced to send its produce there for reshipment to Europe, and from the fact that almost all the imports of foreign goods together with the emigrants, came direct to New York, thereby giving vessels between New York and foreign ports, freights both ways, while European vessels going to Southern ports for produce would have freight but one way, an advantage which almost excluded foreign tonnage from Southern ports, while the Southern produce being sent to New York in Northern vessels alone and all supplies for the South taken in them, gave an exclusive monopoly to the North of carrying both ways for the South, but also of supplies of manufactured goods, hardware, cutlery, ready made clothing, shoes, hats, &c., to an amount in latter years of (\$250,000,000) two hundred and fifty millions of dollars per annum, and on which, in addition to exclusive power of carrying, the South have paid to the North a bonus by the way of the Tariff of 20 to 100 per cent. By these unjust, unequal and unconstitutional monopolies, both the South and the West have been made entirely tributary to Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and the New England States, and for which subjugation they have been forced to pay dearly.

I have proudly exulted in the diversity of genius, enterprise, industry and labor of my countrymen of all sections, and have esteemed it, with our rich fertile soil, diversity of climate and products, as the source of our

greatness and wealth, but that wealth and greatness could never be attainable or permanent unless by a free, equal, and just intercourse and exchange of the different commodities, the products of the different sections and different enterprises, with each other; as free and as unrestrained as "the compact formed by the Fathers" made, declared and intended; then if New York and New England could build, man and sail ships cheaper than the South it would have been for the interest and benefit of both that the South should employ them. The same with manufactured goods, if New England could make and sell as cheap as the South could get them from Europe, where nine-tenths of the products of the South were sold and used, it would have been well or better and more natural to get them from New England; but never if forced to pay tribute on them. And the same arguments apply to the West, but not with equal force, because the West does not border on the Atlantic, and has no direct commerce with Europe except via the Mississippi or through Canada; still it is as unjust, unequal and contrary to the compact formed by "the fathers," that the West should be taxed for the benefit of the capital and enterprise of the East. But for the wise Daniels to expound and confound the Constitution, the Hamiltonian Royalists, and the Missouri Compromisers, the advocates of an Omnipotent Legislature, the ignorers of the Constitution which reserves to, and with the States and people all subjects not therein clearly specified and defined; clearly and fully withholding from Congress all and any power to make any compromise or alteration of its specified conditions of compact. But for these, I say, how beautiful, how glorious, how magnificently grand, would have been the spectacle of this vast country, with all the soils, climates, and products more than necessary for man's wants; with a people with all varieties of genius, enterprise, mechanic skill and industry, harmonizing together in a free unrestrained intercourse and exchange of products and commodities; there could have been no cause for jealousy, but a lawful and pleasurable emulation to arrive at the greatest good of all—New England and New York might have caught all the fishes without a tax upon the South—might have built, manned, and sailed all the ships, carried all the produce of the South to market, sold and brought home its return in goods of all kinds, for all the people North and South; might have furnished the South and West, a supply for all their wants in the various mechanic products of New England, the Northern States and from Europe, now \$250,000,000, and in a few years would be \$500,000,000 yearly, and the South and West would have rejoiced in a prosperity of the whole land, without a parallel in history, as all their own, because the South and North would then have been but one people or nation, with but one interest, happy, free and independent, one and all, with all the varieties and parts harmonizing into one grand whole of universal freedom and prosperity, equally, the envy admiration of, and example for all mankind. But, alas! the Fishing Bounty, the bounty and Protection to commerce, and the accursed Tariff system, has prostrated and overthrown all, and plunged us into the abyss, from which there is no escape—and I fear forever destroyed all hope of free, self, independent government by man; and extinguished forever the hope of the perpetuation of Religious and Civil Liberty.

I must now explain the workings and growth of this tremendous power, which now overshadows all things. It commenced, as before remarked, with bounties on the fisheries, on commerce and navigation, then protection to manufacturers, &c. The manufacture with machinery, as before noticed, did not commence till about the commencement of the war of 1812, but immediately after the peace the Protective policy began, and entirely changed the pursuits of the people of New England; almost the entire capital being diverted from its former occupations and channels to manufacturing; and the result was, as has for all time and in all countries been, that of producing manufactured goods beyond the wants or ability of the



people to pay for, and caused a general prostration and loss; and such has been the result so often as Congress have increased the duties on imports as a protection to our manufactures—still this has never abated the ardor of those advocating the policy. I have often witnessed intelligent, active, industrious practical men invest there all, \$10 to \$30,000 in some manufactory directly under their own personal management and supervision, and perhaps in one year double their capital, and not satisfied with this, (Congress having imposed an increased heavy duty as a further protection) he must extend his works, build new and expensive buildings and fill them with new machinery, and to accomplish which he has incurred and burthened himself with debt to the amount of \$100 or \$150,000, and every body else in the same business having done the same, this of course has tripled or quadrupled the amount of manufactured goods, while the increased Tariff has augmented the price or cost, and lessened the consumption, so that the supply is far beyond the demand, and bankruptcy follows, and the cry is, we want and must have more protection. This protection party moved onward quietly and gradually, till about the time of the Missouri compromise—the prime actors then began to form and lay their plans,—they sought to unite with them every interest and enterprise which could in any way be benefitted by the, as it was called, fostering care of Congress. Till this period Coal and Iron had not been awakened to much consideration—the latter in castings for machinery was becoming important, and marshalled into place in the cry for protection—but coal still remained in the bowels of the earth. The first trial of Anthracite Coal I witnessed in New York in 1816—two specimens, one from Rhode Island and one from Pennsylvania—the experiment was not successful, and fears were entertained that it could never be made a useful fuel—still there were those who had full confidence, and were also marshalled into line, thus gradually augmenting their force and power till after the grand, I may say wonderful success of the New York and Erie Canal, when the unparalleled increase of population in New York and all the West with rich reward to labor, by an increased demand for all the products from the soil, as well as that from mechanic labor, rapidly increased the intercourse and exchanges of the different products and commodities of our different climates and sections, and also enlarged our commerce, intercourse and exchanges with foreign nations. The West poured into New York, (the great depot) its immense crops of corn, wheat, meat, &c. &c. &c., food for man, to be thence distributed to the mechanic labor of New England, to supply the deficiency in Europe, the wants of the Islands, &c.—while from the South came the cotton, rice, tobacco, hemp, &c., products indispensable to all Europe as well as to the Northern States. At this period, as has continued to be since, except in times of famine, more than three-fourths of all our exports have been in the particular products of the South. Now the North furnished the ships and the men, and were the carriers for all this for the South, as also for the West, and between the North and South exclusive carriers; besides this, they were the agents or factors for both in the sale of produce, as well as for the purchase, the manufacture and supply, in return for all the various wants in any thing of general use, ornament and luxury for these two great sections; besides all this advantage, power and profit, the North received from the South and West a bonus by the Tariff on imports of 20 to 100 per cent. on the entire amount—for all of the articles consumed by the South could have been supplied at a cost less the Tariff.

The commercial statistics of our country, the census reports, all show conclusively that from the South has flowed the source of all our wealth, all our greatness, the solid foundation upon which all has been built—the support of our mechanic labor and our commercial marine has been just as much dependent on it as on the winds from heaven. For with a nation as

with an individual, his only real wealth consists in the sale of the products of his labor, and after supplying his necessary wants, the balance, if any, returns in gold and silver, enriching both the individual and nation.—This position is being abundantly verified, and the next twelve months will make it so plain that even he who cannot read, will feel and understand it,—for we shall not have the Cotton, the Rice, the Naval Stores, and the Tobacco of the South for our ships to carry to Europe—nor can our mechanic labor receive its support from supplying the South, and our merchants, traders and speculators cut off from their profits and commissions on \$250,000,000 each way per annum, and the labor in shipping, transshipping, cartage, storage, &c. made destitute.

But the North have held all this immense wealth and power, far surpassing any thing chronicled before, the lawful and just possession and reward for their genius, energy, industry and enterprise, only when attained and possessed with equal rights of those whose labor and industry had been the life and sustenance of all—and still not satisfied, and the cry for more protection, more power, more tax upon the agricultural labor of the South and West, Congress was besieged by combinations of every conceivable interest or occupation, other than agriculture—Internal Improvements by the General Government, and even the potency of the United States Bank—additions and alterations were made in the Tariff, threatening to Bankrupt the nation and overthrow the Government, till in 1832. The South had opposed all this as unconstitutional, unjust, oppressive and subversive of the rights of the States and of the people. Still the combination felt secure in its own might, and would not listen, and South Carolina, the patriotic gallant little State, took her stand and declared that she would not submit to a taxation so unequal, so unjust, and contrary to the compact of the different States. The most of us now remember its history and its happy termination. The North was not as strong in her power then as now, and gave way—a new Tariff was proposed, gotten up by a northern man, John Whipple, of Providence, R. I., (not by Mr. Clay who has ever had the credit of it,) which proposed an annual reduction until the entire Tariff should be reduced to 15 per cent. ad valorem. This Compromise Tariff as it was called, became a law by a very decided majority of both houses of Congress, satisfied all the South, and peace and apparent harmony restored. The South never opposed the levy of a tax on imports for the necessary economical expenses of the government, but it opposed unequal taxation, that is the levy of a heavy duty on specified articles which could or might be manufactured in this country North, and wanted and consumed by the South, by which the South would be unequally taxed for the benefit of northern capital.

In this difficulty the President, Jackson, acted with decisive patriotic firmness. I have in the present difficulty seen and heard him quoted as having said “The Union must and shall be preserved”—but they did not quote and tell us how it must be preserved. He said, “the Union was formed and can be preserved only by the free will and consent of the people, from whom the government derives all its power, which can only be permanent by a strict adherence to the conditions of the compact, and the people must co-operate with united efforts to sustain and protect each other in their separate local or sectional interest, guard and protect their own rights and the sovereignty of the States.” He used no force and did not propose any. South Carolina did not secede, she remained in the Union, but Nullified the Revenue Laws as unconstitutional. The President, as bound by his oath, was obliged to see that the law was executed, and instead of using Charleston as a Custom House, he used a Fort, till Congress reduced the Tariff. The real friends of the Union hoped and believed the subject was finally settled and for ever. But alas! the protectionists declared vengeance against the South. The Slavery question was then



brought out and united with the protectionists, with the Bank and Internal Improvement interest, Improvement of Rivers and Harbors, &c., and altogether declared that the Slavery question should not rest till every slave was unconditionally made free, or they gain their point,—and the very next Congress the petitions poured in for protection, renewal of the Bank charter, Improvement of Rivers and Harbors, Internal Improvements, &c. &c. The Coal and Iron interests now became formidable, but the most potent of all was the United States Bank. President Jackson had vetoed the bill for its re-charter in July 1832, and its friends could not get the constitutional vote of two-thirds of Congress to make it a law—so that its adherents and dependents were maddened to desperation, and were ready to take under their wing the Tariff, Anti-Slavery, all the Rivers and Harbors, and every thing capable of any impression on a vote in Congress; they would not all go so far as to the abolition of Slavery, but there should be no more Slave Territory, no more Slave States, because they would be agricultural States, want nothing from Congress, unwilling to be unequally and unjustly taxed for the benefit of others, and therefore could not be bought into the combination. The Bank fully confident in its own power, took the lead of all—determined upon its re-charter at all hazards—it had already and almost entirely the control of our foreign and domestic exchanges and finance—it now aimed at the entire control of our foreign and domestic commerce, and business of the country generally. Its course was first, to inflate its circulation, and that of all the local State banks, extend its loans and discounts, followed by the State local Banks—this was followed by a rapid decrease of, and calling in its loans and discounts,—the local Banks entirely under its control were obliged to follow, and a panic immediately ensued. And here was a spectacle without a parallel—a whole country in a state of unexampled prosperity, abundant crops every where, with a good demand for them from abroad—the whole business of the country in a healthy condition—no overtrading any where. Exchanges with foreign nations all in our favor, so much so, that specie was flowing to us from all the world; the National Treasury full to repletion; and the following year the entire National debt paid off with some forty (\$40,000,000) millions surplus in the Treasury, to be distributed amongst the States; with all this, the influence of the Bank over the entire business of the country was such, that every business and interest was prostrated and ruined, and Bankruptcy stared everybody in the face. The Bank suborned the Press, the leading politicians, and lawyers, and paid to some as high as \$50,000 dollars; and the man who opposed or dared to give an opinion against it, was denounced as an outcast—excluded from society and at one time for more than two months in the winter of 1833-'34, there were but two men who were bold enough to make their appearance on 'Change in the great City of New York. No merchant, not a partizan of the Bank, could get any accommodation from the Banks, the ruin and prostration so general throughout the country that he could make no collections, and it was in private circles announced that "the screws must be put upon the merchants, their noses must be held to the grind-stone till they would give in to the Bank—they had not began to suffer yet." Public meetings were held—the President denounced—plots for his assassination were publicly announced and large sums offered for its execution. Mr. Biddle was the president of the Bank—was worshipped as the great money god: for the whole length and breadth of the land. The frightened and suffering merchants everywhere implore him on their knees for money and for aid, but no; as the government had declared war against the Bank, it must wind up its business, and no aid could it render—all must go to ruin together, unless the people would come forth in their might and show to the government that they, the people, would have the Bank; and the Bank must govern all. This panic and excitement was kept up from the meet-

ing of Congress in December, 1833, to its adjournment in July, 1834; just before its close the combined influences and pressure from without, forced Congress to pass another Act of Re-charter, which received from President Jackson the same fate as the first. But immediately after the close of Congress, a number of the most wealthy and influential merchants who had taken a conspicuous part in the panic and war upon General Jackson, for the entire prostration and ruin of every interest in the whole country, agricultural, commercial and even manufacturing, come out with a letter to the great money-god, representing "that in as much as the whole country was in a most healthy and prosperous condition that there was no overtrading anywhere, and the balances with all the world, being in our favor, the country had the promise of a most healthy and prosperous trade, and as the Bank by its charter had five years to close its business, they humbly suggested that it might be for the interest of its stockholders as well as of vast benefit to all and every interest of the country—that he, Mr. Biddle, should continue and even extend his indulgences and facilities to the business and other classes of the people," particularly as the business community had looked to the Bank as their hope and stay, and would not know how to get on without, and never submit to its overthrow. With these same influential men, everything from the first of December to July, was ruin and dismay; but so soon as Congress adjourned the panic ceased, and everything bright and prosperous again. Was there ever a more abominable, a more wicked act? Their object was, as ever has been, and now is, with the same party, to establish a power more potent than the Government itself, to control the Legislature or make it subject to as well as control the entire business and commerce of the country: and had they succeeded, the money power would have subjugated all to it, and the slavery question would have slept. From the charter of the first Bank in 1791, to the period of which I am writing, the same party looked with the fondest hope to the Bank as the grand machine, all powerful in their hands, to control the government, the legislature, the business and commerce of the whole country, and in fact to control the people also. But losing the Bank (which they did not despair of till August, 1841) and checked in their protective policy—the slavery question became the most potent because they could make a geographical diversion, and the cry of universal freedom would sound patriotic and the people could not resist it. Up to this time and even later, the party did not openly endorse or affiliate with the fanatic abolitionist, but used them at their local elections, and always voted together on all general questions in Congress—they hoped to gain their control over the Legislative body, short of the overthrow of slavery, because they were not yet so blinded that they could not see that almost every interest in the North, most particularly that of manufacturing, was almost entirely dependent upon slave labor for its support, and the extension of slave labor could be but vastly beneficial to all their industry and enterprise. Slave States would be purely agricultural; could never embark in, or rival them by manufacturing for their own use, but must always oppose the unequal and unjust taxation by their protective system, and therefore always unfriendly to their great object, and so long as there were as many slave States as free the vote in the Senate would be balanced, except by and of the few Southern men who had always not only given them aid and comfort, but had enabled them to get a majority vote upon all measures except that relating to slavery. They feared for the continuance of this uncertain position, as also that the pressure of public opinion against their protective system might at any time deprive them of their Southern supporters. The object was too great, too all-important, to be hazarded. In the panic and general prostration of every interest in the country during the winter and spring of 1833-'34, the party had shown that it was determined to succeed, even at the ruin, entire prostration, and even bankruptcy of the

whole country; but it all failed them, and their next move was to ruin the whole country by overtrading, speculating, &c. Mr. Biddle, the president of the bank, led off. He got a charter from Pennsylvania and in all the other States for banks, organized his corps of bank officers, bank directors and attendants in every State, and no man could get any accommodations that was not a known bank advocate. Mr. Biddle and the party felt that they must in the end gain their point and compel the people to succumb, and though he had not the national treasury for his capital and great aid, still felt that he had the finances, the commerce, the trade, the manufacturing, the agricultural interests, in his keeping and under his entire control. His bank and branches were ready to make loans, wherever they could buy adherents, on ships, on merchandise, on lands, plans of cities on paper, on ungrown produce, &c., &c. He established his agents and commercial houses in Europe for the sale of cotton and other produce, and his agents connected with his bank branches in the different States, to make advances upon, receive and forward the produce to the North and to Europe. At the same time, he with the party, urged and encouraged the increase of the local State banks, which were magnified and multiplied in all the States, so that the whole country was flooded with paper money; all sorts of enterprises and wild speculations were entered into all over the land, particularly in the North and West. This speculative excitement was augmented by the fact, that though General Jackson had sundered the connection of the government funds and business from the United States Bank, still the local banks were used as depositories for the government funds, and as the surplus was large, it was used by the banks to extend their local business, and all things seemed combined to madden the people into the most extravagant expenditures and wildest speculations; so much so, that the common industry in agriculture was abandoned or neglected, and in the most favorable and promising seasons for agricultural crops we were deficient in breadstuffs, and actually imported from Europe in one year (1836) some eleven million dollars (\$11,000,000) in Wheat. Our credits had been extended in Europe to an extent almost fabulous—payments were made only by renewals or new credits—our country was flooded with European fabrics. Mr. Biddle had attempted to monopolize and control the entire cotton crop, and held it in this country and in Europe for high prices, and I believe that Mr. Biddle and the party really and truly believed, that they had the entire control of everything in this country, of England's commerce, the Bank of England and all, and that they would blow every body and every thing up in their bubble but themselves. But alas, "how foolish is man's wisdom." The Bank of England stopped all facilities to Houses connected with American business, and down went Mr. Biddle and all in a heap of ruin together.

This general overthrow and ruin of the whole country threw the general population back again upon their own resources of industrious labor and frugality, and slowly, but surely arose again; but this so occupied the minds of the people that the protectionists had an unobserved opportunity to form their new plans—they still claimed more protection—and marshalled all their forces for the battle. Texas had in this time declared her independence, and was acknowledged as a nation. And at the close of Mr. Tyler's administration a proposition was made for annexation—this was opposed almost to the death by the protection party—became so violent at the North that even the Democratic party became divided; and what was most surprising, Mr. Van Buren, who had before always been considered as a strict constructionist of the Constitution, a champion for States rights and sovereignty, went over to what was called the Free soil party; he of course carried many with him, but generally even amongst the party he joined, he did not get credit for any patriotism in his course. It was thought he could not be satisfied under the disappointment of a re-election. Texas



had been annexed. Mr. Polk's administration commenced 1845; by this time iron and coal had become so important as to influence the election in Pennsylvania, and was only carried by the repeated declarations to the people by Mr. Buchanan, "that Mr. Polk was a better Tariff man than Mr. Clay," his opponent. The coal and iron interest of Maryland and Virginia, and even some of the Western States, as well as tobacco, hemp, and the sugar of Louisiana were brought in together with all the rivers and harbors. Conventions were gotten up and Congress memorialized, a tariff with increased protection was passed by both Houses, but the casting vote of the Vice President, Mr. Dallas, defeated it in the Senate. The River and Harbor Bill was vetoed by Mr. Polk, still they did not yield. Then came the Mexican war which they denounced as murder and robbery, because it might bring slave territory. The joint occupancy treaty with England of Oregon was about to expire. Mr. Polk asked Congress to give him authority to notify England of its termination, which was all that was proper or necessary, or that Congress was called upon to do. England had never made any claim to the soil the joint occupancy gave them permission only to fish, hunt, &c., for a specified time, no more, and they claimed no more. Had this been done Mr. Polk would have entered into a negotiation, which must have ended in a peaceful solution, and given us as we ought to have had, the line to  $54^{\circ} 40'$ —but no; it was feared that Southern or agricultural interest would settle Oregon, and as the South advocated the notice, there might be a fear of a slave settlement, and months were exhausted by Congress, and the whole length and breadth of the land excited to a frenzy, by the public declarations of the leaders of the party in the House and in the Senate, that we could have no claim to Oregon at all, or even not above the boundary of the Columbia river; and England thus notified that she must have a claim, obtained it in the settlement. But they gained their point, in a violation of the Constitution, by an unauthorized act of Congress excluding slavery from the Territory.

Though they opposed the Mexican War, it proved a source of much capital and strength to them; they were always ready and urging large appropriations by Congress for all sorts of objects, with a view to increase the national debt, and render a protective tariff the more necessary. The cost of the war aided them in this, and then came the poor soldiers who had fought their country's battles; they must have bounties in lands and in money, and it became a mania to give away the public lands—every soldier who had ever heard of any war must have a bounty, the warrants for which went directly into the hands of speculators, and the poor soldier left with but little or no benefit. This became a source of as great fraud and speculation as ever has been witnessed, and hundreds made fortunes by it. To this time but little progress had been made in the donations of lands for railroads and other purposes. The majority vote in the Western States had been almost universally cast for the democratic party, the strict constructionists of the powers conferred by the compact; but now every conceivable scheme for railroads throughout all the Western and new States, and even the wilderness Territories, were gotten up, and large donations of land proposed. This excited the people to the expectation of great benefits, and they could not be so ungrateful as to vote against benefactors so profuse; and the result was that many frail, unsound democrats could not resist and went with the popular current, and established a power within those States which holds the whole State finances, business, political freedom, all in vile servitude. Thus has been squandered hundreds of millions of acres of the best lands on the globe, which should have been held sacred for the homes for the destitute of all nations and kindreds, and annually yield a large revenue towards the support of an economical government, and largely reducing the burdens of taxation upon the people. This inexhaustible mine of real wealth, such as no nation ever before pos-

sessed, was given into the hands of unprincipled political demagogues and gamblers, to demoralize and subjugate the people, and violate the Constitution. This move was followed by the appropriation of large sums of money for carrying mails without the United States, and in violation of the strict reading of the Constitution, and in violation of all independent rights, by granting a monopoly by which individual enterprise (one of the main pillars of our temple of freedom) was excluded, and checked in its hitherto onward, glorious course, which had raised us to our glorious position as rivals of, and competitors with, England for the commerce of the world; the hopes and objects of "the fathers" frustrated, and the guarantee rights that man should enjoy the full fruits of his toil, enterprise, and genius, unmolested, unrestrained, ended forever. Large appropriations for building splendid marble custom houses in many places where there could be but very little or any customs business, post office buildings, court houses, &c., &c.; the proposition for each was almost sure to gain a vote; the process was to get some bawling political grog-shop demagogue belonging to the democratic party, and promise him a large interest in the contract; then if the member of Congress for the district would not yield his assent and support, why another must come in his place; the die was cast, his political race run—and, wonderfully, their Southern adjuncts always voted with them.

This system progressed rapidly, till under Mr. Fillmore's administration, with the Speaker of his own party, who named the committees, a bill was reported from the committee making appropriations for rivers and harbors, &c., &c., from \$20 to \$150,000 each for eighty-five (85) Congressional districts; and under Mr. Pierce's administration they had the Constitutional vote to pass bills over his veto. Mr. Buchanan's administration followed, with protective tariff and other unconstitutional proclivities, and added to the already enormous speculations and frauds in jobs and contracts. No person having business with, or claim against the government could approach Congress short of an organized agency. Mr. Buchanan's administration added to the strength of the other party, now organized and united in force to carry their point at all hazards, and the issue was made. Mr. Lincoln was nominated upon the platform of no more slavery—protective tariff, internal improvements, improvements of rivers and harbors; in fact, an omnipotent Congress, and an utter disregard to the Constitution, or decisions of the United States Court. Many of the Northern States had already, by legislation, passed acts in direct opposition to the conditions of the compact; thereby annulled, violated, and overthrew the Constitution, and in public meetings declared it but a "league with hell." The South protested and declared that all they wanted was a strict adherence to the compact as made by the fathers. The reply from the North was, we have the majority and you must submit. The South saw that a delay would but strengthen the power of the North by admitting more free States, and as it now became impossible to add another slave State, their continuance in the Union would place them under vassalage to the North. This they considered in violation of the compact, and diametrically opposed to the intentions of "the fathers" who established it; and though the North, under the cry of the Flag and the Union, and under a pretense for a sacred regard for "the Constitution," would not openly, deliberately and virtually (as they since have done) annul and abolish that sacred compact, but wait till the rapid accession of new free States might give them the Constitutional vote to set it one side altogether. Therefore the South had but to follow the example of our fathers under a similar, though not so aggravated a case; and for this the war dogs of the North are set loose upon them, and they are threatened with fire and sword, rapine and murder, internal insurrection and extermination. They are denounced as rebels and traitors, thieves and robbers, and they must un-



conditionally submit, or be exterminated, their property destroyed, their slaves let loose, armed and turned upon their helpless women and children. Oh, horror of horrors, where is the heart with a spark of humanity that can even read of such a proposition without a shudder; but to hear its enactment proposed and paraded before the public daily, it fills one with a horror only to be equalled by feeling that we are on the brink of the Pit, and within the grasp of the Infernals. But let me calmly investigate this subject. Have the South, even in any one instance, asked the North for, or attempted to force upon the North submission to any violation of "the Constitution" for the benefit of the South in any way? Have the South asked of the North any concession of any of the conditions of "the compact?" Have the South ever asked the North to compromise any conflicting opinions on any interest of the South, under "the Constitution?" Have not the South generally, as a body, (only excepting the few who have been the main pillars of the North,) been the strict literal readers, defenders and supporters of "the Constitution," as made and established by "the fathers?" Have they ever voted for its violation? Have they ever demanded anything from the North which, by the compact, they were not clearly, justly, and lawfully entitled to? Have the South in any one instance failed to fulfill to the letter all the conditions of "the compact?" Have the South ever invaded the soil of the North? Has the South ever made war upon the North, laid waste its property, devastated its country, murdered its citizens and ravished its women? The North claims to own the flag, once the emblem of freedom, independence, liberty and justice. Have the South ever proposed to deprive the North of it? Has not the North done all these and more against the South? Then, I ask, who are truly and justly to be called robbers, murderers, rebels and traitors? Have not the South re-adopted the very Constitution bequeathed to us by our fathers, as the chart for religious and civil liberty? and to whom and to what can any one be a traitor except to that sacred chart? and is not he who violates and annuls its conditions, not only a traitor to his country, but a robber and murderer of the dearest rights of his countrymen and of posterity?

The monarch comes to his throne either by inheritance or by conquest. If by the former, he inherits not only the throne, but his subjects and their country—all his property; they have no voice or choice in the matter. If by the latter, he gathers his adherents, retainers, and paid soldiers, all interested in, and to be benefitted by, his success; he overruns and subjugates his subjects and their country (the same as the North are now attempting to do with the South); they submit to superior force and better organization, and become the property, the menials of the crown; they have no voice or choice in the matter; they have made no compact with the monarch, and the monarch has made no compact or conditions with his subjects. But he has graciously been pleased to burthen them with taxation sufficient to support his royal throne, nobility, attendants, &c., &c., and fight all his battles and pay the cost of it, and they in humility submit. Now, I ask, by whom and for whom was our independence conquered and achieved? Was it not for the thirteen sovereign States? and for the people, one and all, of those thirteen independent States? To whom were those people, one and all, subject? Did not our fathers, who fought and suffered for this greatest of conquest, declare them one and all free, independent, and the States sovereign? Did they attempt to make the North subject to the South, or the South subject to the North, or either to pay tribute to the other? No, never. These thirteen States, though they had fought together, and together conquered for themselves, their countrymen one and all, and for their posterity, as they hoped, for all time, freedom, independence, religious and civil liberty—yet they were separate, independent, sovereign States or governments, each distinct from the other, as much so as England and France. They were drawn towards each other

by mutual interests, benefits and sympathies. They (these thirteen independent, sovereign States—the people individually and collectively, for every man had a voice in it) formed and entered into the compact called “the Constitution,” or an agreement for and between each other for particular specified objects, conditions and purposes, and bound each other and to each other for its fulfilment to the strict readings of its conditions. Now, this compact was entered into by parties who had the right and power in themselves so to do; they were equal, with equal rights, equally guaranteed to one and all—no one State, or class, or section, inferior or subject in any way to another; and no conditions or benefits provided for one State, class or section, separate from, not applicable to, or not intended to equally benefit all; and the people one and all, of their own free will and choice, adopted it as their own work, the chart by which they were to sail together to the haven of human perfection in government, and by which the freedom of individual man to worship his God according to the dictates of his own conscience, and the justice awarded to the enjoyment of the full fruits of his toil, and none to claim him as a subject or to make him afraid—he was a man, and would “bow not his neck nor bend the knee to any” but to his God. He now walked forth erect for the first time since our first parents, in Paradise. Can any one, or does any one, doubt that they had the right and the power to enter into this compact, and sacredly bind themselves to the strict fulfilment of all its conditions? If this is doubted, then are we still the property of the Crown of England, and should go back with humble, penitent supplication to the Queen to graciously be pleased to take us under her guidance and protection, promising to be loyal, dutiful subjects. But if we admit the right and the power, who can claim or even pretend that this or any other compact, however sacred, and however important and binding its conditions may have been, is valid, or binding, or of any effect, any longer than its conditions are truly and faithfully carried out and executed in all its details by the parties to it. In all compacts, conditions, or contracts, by and with individuals or associations of individuals, the only binding condition is that each party shall faithfully and truly perform and execute his part; failing in this, the binding conditions on the other part become null and void. This is a universally established and conceded principle and fact, both in law and equity. Therefore it must be clear to any unprejudiced mind that—

First, “The compact” has not been faithfully executed, but has been violated on the part of the North towards the South.

Second, That in consequence thereof “the compact” has become null and void, of none effect, and no longer binding on the part of the South; and

Third, Inasmuch as the original parties were equals, entered into the compact as such, the conditions of the compact being intended and formed for the just, equal, separate and united interests and benefits of all, no one party having any pretension or claim to superior rights and privileges over the other, had no power or right (*the Divine right having been repudiated*) of subjugating or making by legislative acts one part tributary to the other.

Now, all this is clearly demonstrated by and in the ratification of the compact by the different States. “The compact” provides “that nine States must accept and ratify, to carry it into effect and make it binding on the *nine States*; but the nine States could have, and did not pretend to any power to coerce the other States, nor did they attempt subjugation. Several of the States did not accept and ratify for some considerable time after; and several, Virginia, New York, Rhode Island and others, accepted and adopted the compact only with the declared reservation, that they had the right to withdraw from it whenever the interest or happiness of their people demanded. The entire instrument, as well as the workings of the government under it

for the first twenty years, show conclusively that it was the intention of its founders to organize and establish a free government—the people's government, emanating from their own free will and choice—a government only as the agent of, and entirely subject to, the people, and not the people subjects of the government. The absurdly false idea now palmed upon us from high official source, that the States emanate from, and are the creatures of, the government, is too preposterous even to be noticed; it at once aims to give the creature power and control over and superior to its creator; probably those who pretend to this do not believe in a Supreme Creator and Ruler of all things, and make the creature his own creator. Now, this is too transcendantly ridiculous. Who and what formed and made our compact—the government? Now, does not every boy and man—yes, woman, too—who have read or can read our history, know that when and before the colonies revolted they each had a separate distinct organized government, and when they confederated to carry on the War of Independence they called themselves States, sovereign States, and never surrendered that position? and were not these sovereign, free, independent States, with their people, the creators, the founders of the compact, our once glorious Union? and did they not, in justification of their act, declare “that whenever any form of government becomes destitute of the ends, or fails to perform the objects for which it was intended, it is the right of the people to alter and abolish it?” They do not anywhere say that if the people are oppressed and aggrieved, they shall be subjugated and forced to submit to the power that has oppressed them. No; on the contrary, they fought, suffered, and overthrew this monarchical, tyrannic dogma, and bequeathed to their children and to posterity for all time, as they hoped, exemption from the very ruin and despotic oppression which is now marching through our land, and overthrowing everything sacred to the liberty and freedom of man.

Now, can it be pretended, claimed, or even doubted for a moment, that the South did not enter into the compact on precisely the same terms and conditions in every particular as the North? Has the South by the only known legal means (an amendment to the Constitution) surrendered her equal rights and become vassals to the North? No, never. Then, why are not the North and South equal owners in all the government property, the Union, the flag, the government itself, emanating from and of the people—the ships, arms, and all the public buildings, forts and arsenals, built expressly for particular local places, for the carrying on of *foreign commerce with those particular places*, and for the protection and defence of *those particular places against foreign invasion*. And the public lands—did not Virginia donate to the government all of what is now your great State, Ohio—Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin? and from these lands came the fund which has and does educate the children of some of the New England States—Connecticut, for one; and has not the South done her part fully and freely (far more so than New England) in all our wars and battles—in that of independence and all? Besides and above the donation of lands, has not the South paid its proportion of all the expenses for the government, for the wars, for buildings, forts, and arsenals, ships, arms, and all? Has the North any claim on the South for any of these? Who can doubt or deny all this? Then, why do not the public lands belong as much to the South as to the North? and by what right or power can the North exclude the South from them? I have heard but one reply, and that is “might is right,” “and we will exclude them.” Is this honest? is this just? is it the fulfilment of, and the carrying out to its intent the conditions of the compact of our fathers? Now suppose, my dear sister, that your husband has purchased a tract of land with another; they are joint purchasers, joint owners, and have agreed to a joint occupancy; planting time arrives, and your husband announces his intention to plant and



cultivate corn; but his joint occupant and owner says, "No, I will have no corn on our land; it shall all be planted with wheat, your husband remonstrates;" the other says, "No, I will have no corn; if you are not satisfied quit, and if you do not quit, I am the strongest and will eject you"—would you not consider this a hard case? would you submit? and what would a court of law decide?—"that as equal owners their rights must be equal, and the law bound to protect them each in his right, and inasmuch as they could not occupy in harmony, the Court would be bound to order a division and make the aggressor pay costs and damages." Now, where is the difference in the comparison? Is not our government, our Constitution, a chart for a joint occupancy, founded upon and for the protection of the joint privileges and rights of the people? I cannot think it possible that the people read or understand the Constitution, or the vital principles on which our institution of free government was founded; they have become man worshippers, and run first after one and then another bawling grog-shop demagogue, whose very life is stimulant and extravagant excitement; and the one who can bawl the loudest and longest, and most excite the passions and prejudices of the people, and drink the most whiskey, is the man, and they look to him to expound and take his declared reading of the Constitution as law; and no wonder they are all gone mad, and sold their birth-right for less than "a mess of pottage."

I have often heard even such men as Mr. Webster, Mr. Clay, Mr. Crittenden, Mr. Corwin, of your State, and all of that school, and Mr. Douglas, (who was never a sound Constitutionalist,) in their places in Congress and before large public meetings, misrepresent, misquote, and entirely falsify that sacred instrument, the Constitution. Such men have been the readers, thinkers and actors for the people—the gods to whom they have fallen down and worshipped, and been by them led to the very brink, from which they are plunging to the bottomless abyss, from whence there is no escape. I have mentioned the names of those distinguished persons only because they were and are the leaders of a party, and were closely followed even to the letter by all under them, the people and all, and whose declarations and opinions were above all law or precedent. I have repeatedly heard them from their places in the House and Senate, declare (and apparently quote from) "*that the Constitution gives to Congress the exclusive power to legislate for the Territories.*" On this misrepresentation an argument for days, months and years has been kept up, to prove that Congress by the Constitution had full right and power to restrict slavery from the Territories. These men knew full well that their declarations would go forth to all their followers, all over this land, as more sacred than law or gospel, and become "the higher law;" and they also knew that the arguments of their opponents, however sound, would never be read by their adherents.

But let us see what the fact is, and then as I have often done, wonder with astonishment, that such men could be the authors of such an imposition, such a palpable falsehood. "The Constitution," Article 4th, Section 3d, says: "The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations, respecting the Territories or other property of the United States, and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State."

Now in sober earnestness, can any school-boy read this to mean, or in any way pretend to any power in Congress other than for the sale of, and general care and supervision over the property belonging to the United States? And would not any other action by Congress be sure (as it has done) "to prejudice the interests of particular States," and certainly this cannot be read or construed so as to authorize Congress to make even organic or municipal laws for the people of a territory. There is no clause, no expression in "the Constitution" that can even by perversion, be made



to convey to Congress any power whatever to make any organic laws, except for the organization of and carrying into effect, the three different departments of the people's agent or government, and no municipal law except for the District of Columbia. This is what our fathers fought for, the one great principle, that the people should be free, dictate their own laws, control and direct the mode and measure by which they should be executed. They repudiated forever the old system that the people could have no voice, and consequently no interest in their government but as vassals. All their acts and declarations both before and after independence, in forming and accepting the compact, all, were based, as they believed on a sure foundation, for the security of the just and equal rights of all, which is manifest in the clearly and fully defined restrictions of and limitations to the powers conferred by the compact on the three branches of the government. They intended to organize and institute an agent, subject to the power that created it, this agent to be the custodian of their united, but equal and separate, specified interests and rights; therefore Congress was restrained from general legislation, and confined to clearly specified limits, because the immense Territory was so diverse in soils, climates, and products, and the people of the different States, also possessed various habits, industries, and enterprise, that any legislation by Congress, while it might be vastly beneficial to one section or one interest, would be a tax upon and aggressive to another State or section, and it never could be expected that impositions so unjust and unequal would be submitted to by the aggrieved party, claiming and justly entitled under the compact, to equal rights. All this was as plain to the view of those who formed the compact, as the destruction of all their hopes from a violation of its conditions are to us now. The plain reading of the compact shows clearly that it was the intention to fully and clearly exclude from Congress all power to legislate either for the organic or municipal laws, for either State or Territory. The thirteen States being already organized, sovereign and independent, with legislative, executive and judicial powers, with municipal and all necessary laws in force and execution, would never surrender their position and inalienable rights—and the Territories or public lands, being owned equally by all the States, peopled from all the States, and each State having a particular and peculiar interest beyond the ownership, excluded the possibility as well as expediency of any legislation by or power in Congress over them, except so far and no farther than prescribed by the Constitution, and that "to make all necessary rules and regulations for the care and sale of the lands" to one and to all who chose to purchase them; besides, the Constitution prescribes the conditions and mode by which a Territory can be admitted as a State; Congress has no power over the subject, and if "the conditions" are fully complied with Congress has no option in the matter and no power to make any conditions. Had the true intent and meaning of the Constitution been fairly, fully and equally to all carried out, the horrid difficulties which now overwhelm our whole land could never have been dreamed of even. The people from all the States would have gone to the Territories only as the filling up of the already States rendered it for their interest to settle more and perhaps better lands. Some would have gone with slaves, some with flocks and herds, some with mechanics' tools, some with merchandise, and some with professions; but all united and harmonized in one general object—the united good of all; and in proper time formed and adopted their own Constitution, with or without slavery, conformable to their rights under the Constitution, and become another State. To this time the common law would have been their guide and protection, because for the common good. But no, this must not be. The North had the majority in Congress—must control the vote in this new State; and in order to do so Congress must violate and annul the Constitution, and slavery must be

excluded while in a Territorial state. Now, let us reverse the case, and in all sober earnestness let me ask, what would the North have said and done, the South having the majority of votes in Congress, and enacted a law excluding every white man who did not bring slaves to the Territory? for certainly if Congress have the power to exclude and make conditions for the one, why not equal power for the other also? Have I exaggerated this? Is it not a plain, simple fact? Is it not this majority vote power which the South is now forced to contend against? And is it not for the strengthening and augmenting this same majority power that the North are now robbing, murdering and plundering the people of the South—devastating and laying waste their country?

For the last forty years (since the Missouri Compromise—the monstrous violation of the compact) every stimulant has been applied and every effort to force settlements far beyond the wants of the population in the States, and just so soon as some half dozen outcasts, half breeds, hunters, whiskey drinkers, and sellers of whiskey to the Indians, could be gotten together in the wilderness, far remote from civilization or even communication with it, tremendous necessity has at once been discovered for the immediate organization of a Territorial government, and each party striven hard, too, for the possession of the patronage in the appointment of Governor and numerous Territorial officers, to preside over and officiate amongst the savages and their wild wilderness game, and the full reward to the party grog-shop demagogue who has bawled the loudest and drank the most whiskey at the hustings has been awarded. With the proposition for organization has the battle commenced, and several times kept up for years, the entire country agitated, the passions and prejudices of the people excited and inflamed, and all the profound wisdom in the land exhausted in the endeavor to blind the people to the belief that Congress had the power to exclude slavery, and the cause of human freedom demanded it. At length the satisfactory bargains of barter and sale have been made, and the bill finally passed, and the people stand aghast with wonder and astonishment at the escape from utter annihilation; but these demagogue leaders have saved them this time only to lead them nearer to the brink the next, as in the case of Kansas; contributions and societies formed to hasten settlement and organize a warfare, the parties in the Territory excited to hatred against each other, to strife, civil war, and the most horrid barbarities committed and encouraged; and to keep this up, contributions in money, arms, munitions, and bands of armed men, were sent to their aid, encouraged and urged on, too, from the pulpit by those professing to be “the messengers of peace and good will to man from high heaven.” Everybody throughout the land is familiar with the history of Kansas, the precursor to the present barbarous warfare, now robbing, murdering and plundering our brothers and our sons, bankrupting the nation, and devastating the whole land; and all this might have been checked in the bud, had not the two parties in the North sought to make capital for the Presidency out of it; and the government lent its aid by the neglect of its first duty. Though the Constitution has given no power to Congress to legislate for the Territories beyond the limitation, still the government, as the agent of the people, has the entire and exclusive control over the sale and management of the public lands for the benefit of all, and therefore bound by all that is sacred to protect the settlers in the peaceable and lawful possession of their just rights; and those who have no lawful rights, and are disturbing and endangering the rights, the persons and property of those who have, should be considered as but robbers, murderers, and destroyers of the peace and safety of the Territory, and the government should eject them with force of arms, and punish them to the utmost rigor of the law and its power to execute. This is but the plain duty of the government, and bound by all that is sacred to its execution. Had the

government done this, then we might have been spared all the strife and all the bloodshed, and might still have been a harmonious Union.

But, alas ! all is gone ; all which cost our fathers so much suffering and blood, is gone. A chaos has succeeded the harmony, order and blessings which they bequeathed to us, and now no one has the perception to penetrate the dark portentous cloud which overshadows all our hopes for the future.

To my view, no reconstruction of our once glorious and happy Union can ever be accomplished by force. It is not natural, or is it reasonable to even suppose such an event possible ? It is in direct opposition to all the principles of independence for which our fathers fought, as well as contrary to all the natural instincts of the American mind. It is in opposition to the foundation of every idea which has been instilled into our minds from our infancy up, and become a part of the American nature. It is contrary to any precedent which history presents to us, for no people have ever quietly and harmoniously united and become fully interested and identified with another who have subjugated them. To hope for this, we must expect the South to sink into a degradation even lower than the slaves we are pretending to war for. No ; it can never be. The American born who holds his head proudly erect—the image of the God who made him—is free, independent, and will never be a vassal to any ; and those who act and argue to the contrary have not American instincts, have not an American education, have not an American heart, cannot hold the head erect and feel that they are free and the image of the God who made them ; they do not understand the first principles of liberty ; they are servile slaves themselves seeking to enslave others, and marching rapidly to military despotism. All can see this who will. There is not, or has there been in our time, a despotic government in Europe so oppressively arbitrary as ours now is. Private property is taken without notice ; quiet, peaceable inhabitants turned out of their homes, to make place for hired mercenaries ; property wantonly wasted and uselessly destroyed, without remedy or redress ; quiet citizens who have taken no action in any way, are taken by force even from their beds and incarcerated in prisons for month, and not permitted to know their accusers or the charge against them ; the public press suppressed and public speech denied ; property seized and confiscated ; civil and municipal tribunals and governments suppressed and military ones substituted ; a large number of the legislators of a State on their way to their Capital forcibly seized and incarcerated in prisons ; private citizens and high officials forcibly taken from their State to a foreign State, and there incarcerated in the strongest forts, denied a trial or the knowledge of the charges against them ; ten thousand armed soldiers sent into a State, to force an election, and no voter permitted to vote who would not take the prescribed oath ; the writ of habeas corpus suspended ; money borrowed ; armies levied, equipped and organized ; navies purchased, armed and manned ; and the country overrun and devastated by a lawless, undisciplined military mob—all under an irresponsible military despotism ; all, too, without the shadow of lawful authority, and in direct open violation of every principle, spirit, and expressed conditions of the Constitution. Is this the independence, the equality of rights, the liberty which our fathers bequeathed to us ? and will the South be subjugated to it ? No : never. The God of Heaven and Earth who kindled the first spark of the holy fire of Religious and Civil Liberty in the American breast, will never permit it. But will the people of the North permit it ? Alas ! alas ! the North has become so mixed up with foreign, aristocratic, autocratic notions, feeling, habits, principles, precedents, infidelity and all ; that the people run after, throw up their caps and hurrah for the military despotism. But alas, their liberty, and their rights, as secured to them by “the Constitution” are gone : yes, gone forever—and they but the hopeless vassals, who



have riveted their own chains upon their own limbs. They have brought all this ruin upon themselves—business of all kinds, commerce, manufactures, and even agriculture, would be entirely prostrated but for the famine alarm in Europe; the Treasury bankrupt; the National credit ruined; with a daily expenditure of more than \$3,000,000; and the people to be taxed beyond endurance or their ability to pay; and all for what? Do not tell me it is for “human freedom,” philanthropy or christianity. No: it would be preposterous—yes, blasphemy. No! it is for power; to subjugate by military force the supposed weaker to the stronger.

Now, if these people were really and truly in earnest, and sincerely interested in “human freedom,” and the good of the slave at heart, morally, mentally, socially and politically, why have they not come out with a proposition to purchase their freedom, and make suitable provision for their support and improvement? For certainly no one can pretend it possible, that they can jump at once from their present, to a state of cultivated civilization. We will suppose there are, as the Census report represents 4,000,000, and an average price of \$700 would be low, and would amount to \$2,800,000,000; and these 4,000,000 might be fed as cheap as has been paid for the board of horses, say forty (40) cents per day; and would for the 4,000,000 slaves amount to \$1,600,000 per day, or \$584,000,000 for a year; but as they are not horses and not to be put under an army contract, we will allow one dollar each per week, or \$52 per year, is \$120,000,000; and for clothing, medical attendance, &c., &c., \$30 each per year, is \$120,000,000—together, \$3 128,000,000.

Three Billions one hundred and twenty-eight millions of dollars for the purchase and support for the first year. Supposing this to be made a funded debt, the annual interest at seven per cent. per annum would amount to two hundred and eighteen millions, nine hundred and sixty thousand (\$218,960,000) dollars; to which must be added the annual cost of board, clothing, medical attendance, &c., &c., amounting to three hundred and twenty-eight millions of (\$328,000,000) dollars, until they can provide for themselves. Though these sums look large on paper, war expenses and war estimates have made such familiar; and it would be as nothing to the North, when a principle of such magnitude is involved. Had they come forth with such a proposition to buy all the slaves of the South, pay for, and take them to their bosoms, then they might well have claimed, not only the sympathy, but the applause of all the world for their self-sacrificing, philanthropy and humanity. But to first murder their masters and families, destroy and devastate their homes and their property, and then cast the slaves loose. What will the true philanthropist, the humane and the christian call this? does history present a parallel case? I know England is looked to, or pretended to be used as a precedent; and how do the two cases compare.

First—we know that the powers of our Congress are defined and limited by the Constitution, and its acts may be ignored and entirely set one side, declared null and void by the United States Court. While the English Parliament is omnipotent, and when its acts are sanctioned by the Crown, become the Supreme Law of the Land, and all the people of the Realm subject to it.

Secondly—the people of England, Ireland and Scotland agitated the question of emancipation, and petitioned Parliament; and after a long time Parliament granted the prayer, because the people of England, Ireland and Scotland were to be taxed to pay the owners a satisfactory indemnification, and not rob, ruin and murder them; and because the people of England, particularly the manufacturing interest, believed that the emancipation in the West Indies would so change the habits of the slaves as to materially lessen tropical products, the fruits of slave labor there—force the necessity for, and naturally stimulate the production of tropical products in Asia,

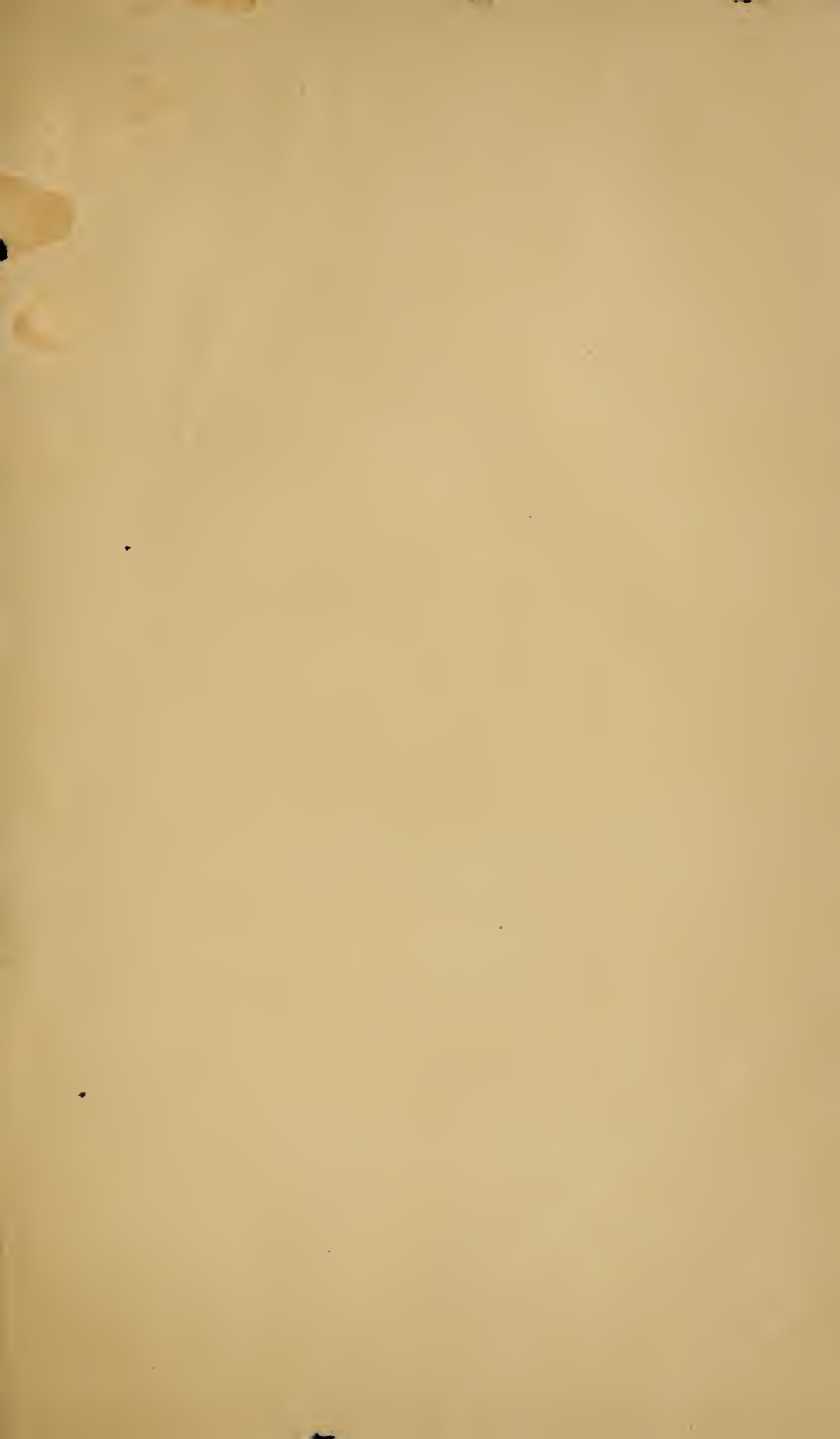


where they anticipated a vastly increased demand for their manufactured goods; and the consequently augmented carrying trade between India and England would greatly increase and benefit commerce, navigation, and also the general interests of the kingdom. Now, in England the Parliament have the entire control, with the Crown, over all such subjects and the unrestricted management of them, and the people with their property are but subjects, and must submit and pay. This is the yoke which our fathers cut off, as they hoped, for their posterity forever.

I have been particular in this sketch of the origin and progress of the causes which have overthrown our Union and placed us under a military despotic power, for you to keep, and give it to your children when I am gone, that they may see and know what should have been their inheritance, and let them contrast the free government bequeathed by our fathers, with the yoke which will then be upon their necks.

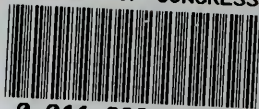
What I have written are facts which have come under my own observation, and of scenes in which I have acted a part, from before the war of 1812 to the present time, showing as I have seen from the beginning, that the same party which now rules us, have spared no cost and bent all their efforts to curtail the rights and liberty of man, to make labor subject to capital, and to attain the end they have now reached—the overthrow of the Union, or secure to themselves the entire control of it, subjecting the people to their dictation and will.







LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 011 933 349 0